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ABSTRACT

A discussion of bilingual education begins with a look at theoretical issues and then describes a community bilingual education program in London. Issues addressed include the distinction between additive and subtractive bilinguality, the relationship between contexts and outcomes of bilingual education, the cognitive and academic effects of different forms of bilingualism, social network analysis, the integration of macro- and micro-logical levels of analysis, and the role of ideology in education. The project described is a two-way bilingual education program where both majority- and minority-language children learn through the mediums of the majority language (English) and one important minority language (a Cypriot dialect of Greek). All children involved in the program receive half of their instruction in one language and half in the other. The project will study the effects of this bilingual teaching and learning experience on the linguistic, cognitive, affective, social, cultural, and educational development of majority and minority children and the community as a whole. (MSE)

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A PROJECT OF COMMUNITY BILINGUAL EDUCATION: SOME THEORETICAL AND APPLIED ISSUES

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Résumé/Abstracts

Cette communication présente en seconde partie un projet à long terme d'éducation bilingue communautaire qui a pour but la mise en place d'un programme-pilote dans lequel l'enseignement serait donné dans deux langues, dont l'une est la langue nationale officielle, l'autre celle d'un groupe ethnique minotitaire important au niveau local. Une approche de recherche interdisciplinaire permettrait de préparer ce programme d'enseignement, d'en suivre le développement et d'en évaluer les résultats. Dans une première partie nous discutons les problèmes théoriques et idéologiques soulevés par l'éducation bilingue communautaire dans un contexte multiculturel. Ces problèmes sont abordés d'un point de vue interdisciplinaire et à des niveaux d'analyse macrologique et micrologique.

1. Theoretical issues in bilingual education

To account for the differential outcomes of bilingual education in a wide variety of contexts a number of theories or explanatory hypotheses have been put foward (For a comprehensive review see CUMMINS, 1984). Needless to say, these theories are, like all social science theories, strongly influenced by the ideological views of their authors, in particular regarding the role of education in society. If one considers one possible educational outcome, for example "academic underachievement", the following "causes""have been suggested:

- bilinguality[1] itself;
- lack of exposure to the dominant languages;
- lack of inter-ethnic contacts;
- cultural and linguistic mismatch between home and school;
- cultural alienation;
- low socio-economic status of students;
- relative status of the languages and groups in contact;
- etc.

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The trouble with any one of these "independent variables", taken singly, is that their effects are not consistent across different contexts because they interact with other variables. We need to construct an experimental model that will, first, incorporate all the relevant factors and their possible interactions at all levels, from macrological to micrological, in different contexts; second, account for apparently conflicting evidence; and, third, suggest experimental pedagogical programs in bilingual education in place of existing solutions which are usually dictated by ideological motives or expediency, rather than by rational decisions based on the evidence of theoretical and empirical research. Because such a model requires an interdisciplinary approach that would examine the problem of bilingual education at all levels of analysis, it is still in the future. But there exist a number of partial theories, hypotheses and models, some supported by empirical evidence, others testable, which

[1]Bilinguality: A psychological state of the individual who has access to more than one linguistic code as/a/means of communication. (HAMERS & BLANC, 1982).

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all point in a similar direction, although all of them finally founded on the rock of macro--micro and objective-subjective relationships, as I will attempt to show.

It is now widely accepted that the different outcomes of bilingual education cannot be attributed to bilinguality per se, but on the one hand to intervening variables that mediate the effects of bilingual experience on children's cognitive, affective and academic development; and, on the other hand, to the social, cultural and educational conditions under which children acquire and develop their languages.

It was LAMBERT (1974) who first drew the distinction between "additive" bilinguality, in which the child adds another socially valued language to her repertoire at no cost to proficiency in her first, and "subtractive" bilinguality, in which bilingual children's performance in two languages reflects a stage in the subtraction of the first language and its replacement by the second. At a macro-level of analysis Lambert explained the very different outcomes by reference to the context of acquisition, in particular the economic and social background of the children - those from low SES, subordinate groups tending to develop a subtractive form of bilinguality -, and to the relative status of the languages in contact or conflict.

There is, however, no direct one to one relationship between the context of acquisition on the one hand, and the linguistic cognitive, affective and educational outcomes on the other hand. For differences between and within groups, such as strong cultural and educational family traditions or valorisation of a low status language, may prevent a substractive effect. It is therefore essential to distinguish between the context of subtractive and additive bilinguality and the possible outcome (Figure 1).

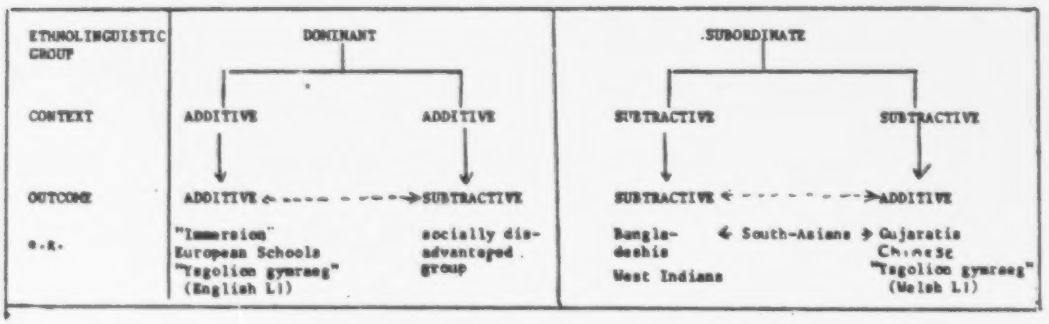


FIGURE 1 : CONTEXTS AND OUTCOMES OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

To try to predict the cognitive and academic effects of different forms of bilinguality, CUMMINS (1976), making use of correlational data, hypothesised the existence of two threshold levels of linguistic proficiency: a first, lower threshold which must be attained by (consecutive) bilingual children if they are to avoid cognitive and academic deficits; and a second, higher threshold which must be reached for an additive form of bilinguality to develop. Such a hypothesis, however, did not make explicit the relationships between the languages and the nature of the language proficiencies involved at the two threshold levels.

In order to explain the relationship between the languages CUMMINS (1979) put forward a "developmental interdependence hypothesis", according to which in academic contexts the development of the second language is partly dependent on the level of development of the first. As for the nature of the language proficiencies CUMMINS (1980) observed that it took most minority group children considerably longer to achieve grade/age appropriate levels in academic skills than in face-to-face communicative skills. He subsequently refined this distinction by redefining language

proficiency in the context of bilingual education along two continuous dimensions: the amount of contextual support present in the speech act (from context-embedded to context-reduced) and the degree of cognitive involvement in the academic task (Whether the task is cognitively demanding or not). This model has a developmental aspect to it in that the acquisition of language competence progresses from more to less contextualization and from less to more cognitively-demanding use of language. This would explain why minority children are allowed to pass into mainstream education on the basis of inadequate tests which tap only communicative skills and involve only context-embedded and cognitively undemanding tasks, when their new setting will insist on context-reduced and cognitively demanding tasks.

At this stage it is interesting to pause and reflect on Cummins's hypotheses for bilingual education methodology and testing on the one hand, and for the problems of macro-micrological levels analysis, on the other. Briefly, these hypotheses suggest that in a subtractive context the students' two languages must be developed on the dimensions and in the directions defined by Cummins, so that an additive form of bilinguality may be fostered. However, when Cummins comes to the question of what kinds of assessment procedures should be used for "entry" and "exit" purposes, he recommends for the former cognitively undemanding and context-embedded tests which are "fair" to all the children; for exit purposes he recommends cognitively-demanding, context-reduced tasks, as they more accurately reflect the demands of the monolingual classroom. These recommendations on language testing call for the development and validation of new types of tests for minority children: But are new tests what is really needed?

A more serious criticism of Cummins's approach concerns the absence in his explanation of affective, social and cultural correlates of bilingual development. His models are essentially cognitive-linguistic, i.e. remain at a micrological level, and they artificially isolate language from its meaningful social context. The dimensions of language proficiency defined by Cummins may be best conceived of as intervening micro-variables, not as independent causal factors. CUMMINS (1984) is of course aware of this problem and frequently refers to determining social factors; but nowhere does he develop a theoretical framework that would relate micrological variables, such as language proficiency and academic achievement, to macrological factors like social structure and power relationships.

We must turn to social psychologists of language for models that attempt to relate individual, subjective variables to structural, objective variables through the mediation of group strength perception or social network characteristics (On the role of social networks in the determination of group values and attitudes and controlling language behaviour, see the section on social networks in this volume). For example, GILES, BOURHIS & TAYLOR (1977) and BOURHIS, GILES & ROSENTHAL (1981) have developed the concept of the ethnolinguistic vitality of a group relative to other groups and shown the importance of individuals' perceptions of their own and others' vitality for their identity and language behaviour. But, as ALLARD & LANDRY (1986) have shown, general beliefs or perceptions of factual situations contribute minimally to the prediction of cultural and language behaviour, in particular of assimilation. They suggest integrating affective and cognitive dimensions in terms of a system of beliefs on ethnolinguistic vitality. But even here we remain at a micrological level of analysis. As long as the structural factors (number, status, institutional support) - even when the individuals' perceptions of these are mediated by systems of beliefs or social network characteristics - are merely descriptive and are not integrated into a predictive social theoretical model, one will not be able to explain how structural forces impinge on individual behaviour. We are left with a psychological theory of intergroup relations.

To date, the only attempts at integrating macrological and micrological levels within an interdisciplinary framework are those of BRENT-PALMER (1979) and PRUJINER & AL (1984). They have a lot in common at the macro-level. The former starts from a power-conflict paradigm, in which the unequal distribution of power among different social/ethnic groups is the basic element of the stratification system holding between the groups. The latter adapts a Bourdieusian model to a multi-ethnic situation (See PRUJINER, this volume): ethnic groups have different "capitals" or "assets" - economic, social, political, cultural, including language and education - and each group can be characterised in terms of its degree of control of major institutions and assets. In both models the

Dominant (D) group's power is expressed by (a) its legitimising power: it prescribes the legitimate language behaviour and values for itself and the Subordinate (S) groups; (b) its attraction power: it serves as the major reference group and model for the other groups' language behaviour, because its own language/dialect is the most valued, the norm compared to which other codes are perceived as illegitimate, deviant and, for this reason, are stigmatised; (c) the fact that the D-group mobilises all the major social institutions, in particular the education system, and has a direct impact on the S-groups' codes and performance styles. In this way the D-group lays down language norms and conditions of language education.

The two models differ when they try to explain the interface between macro- and micrological processes. BRENT-PALMER uses the symbolic interaction theory. According to this model the groups' status and power differences are reflected in social roles and played out in face-to-face interaction in everyday life situations. Thus, the individual's behaviour carries social information that can act as status or stigmatised symbol during interpersonal interactions, including language and classroom ones. In other words, the power relations holding between social and ethnic groups are acted out by individual members of these groups in the "politics of everyday life". In both models language is at one and the same time a symbol and an instrument of power relations; it molds, and is molded by these relations.

PRUJINER & AL use the mediation of social network theory to relate macro and micro processes. In the same study LANDRY (1984) attempts to integrate all levels, macro factors being linked to internal psychological factors via social networks. His model, if properly manipulated, should be predictive of language development, explaining, for example, how additive bilinguality can develop in a subtractive context, according to the different configuration of interactions between variables (See Figure 2). Indireetly, this model should provide a framework within which bilingual education programs can be planned.

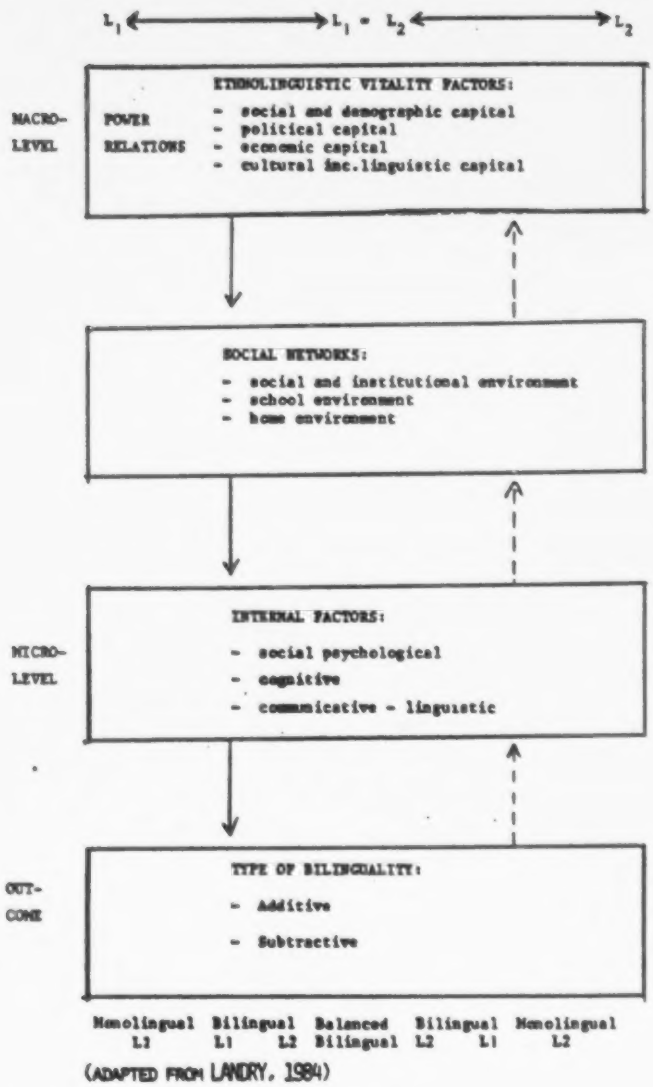
Before presenting the project of community bilingual education, it is necessary to turn to a last theoretical issue and briefly discuss the question of ideology in education. Perhaps the most fundamental issue in education in general and in bilingual education in particular is ideological: What kind of society have we got and what kind of society do we want? Should the education system reflect and perpetuate the dominant social and cultural values which are themselves reflections of existing power relations? In a multicultural society is the function of bilingual education to reproduce the dominant pattern, or should it function as an agent of social change, social justice and equality?

The main ideological positions which underlie and determine bilingual education policies can be defined as assimilationist, segregationist, separatist, integrationist and utopian. Each position has a different answer to two basic questions: (1) Should ethnic distinctiveness be maintained and developed? (2) Are interethnic contacts desirable? (See BERRY, 1984). The adoption of one or the other position may be the result of a decision by either the dominant group or the subordinate group or both together (For more details see HAMERS & BLANC, 1983, chapter 8).

Briefly, assimilation is the absorption of ethnic minority individuals and groups into the dominant modes and values of society. Here the aim of education is to ensure the assimilation of minority children and the traditional solution to the problem are submersion or, in order to facilitate transfer, avoid academic retardation and bolster up selfesteem, transitional or compensatory programs where the learners' mother tongue(s) is (are) used as a medium of instruction but only while they are learning the dominant language.

In the segragation model the dominant group deliberately excludes the subordinate group(s) from the dominant education system. It is up to the minority group(s) to organise their own provisions to educate their children. In the separatist case it is the minority group that decides to organise their own education.

FIGURE 2. : MACRO AND MICRO-FACTORS OF ADDITIVE & SUBTRACTIVE BILINGUALITY



(ADAPTED FROM LANDRY, 1984)

The integrationist or pluralist position varies according to whether its proponents favour a private or communitarian view of education. If the former, the choice of bilingual education will be left to individuals; such a view, while promoting bilingualism for a few individuals, leads to assimilation for the group. Like the private position, the public pluralist view acknowledges a common, overarching core of societal and cultural values for all (on the concept of overarching core values see SMOLICZ, 1984). But it differs from it in that it demands public recognition and support for cultural and linguistic maintenance for all the minority group members who want it. An example of this is the teaching of, or in, ethnic/community/heritage languages and cultures for minority children in mainstream schools. Note that the aim of education in the mother tongue here is not to create linguistic apartheid or separation, but its very opposite, namely to help the child develop bilinguality.

The utopian or intercultural synthesis position originates from both the D- and D-groups who jointly decide to educate their children in their own and in each other's languages. An actual example

of this would be those parents in some parts of Wales, from English-speaking, Welsh-speaking and bilingual Welsh-English backgrounds, who send their children to schools where the media of instruction are English (D) and Welsh (S). Of course, this is not difficult to achieve where there are two official languages, as in Wales. This should also be possible at the local community level, where there is no official minority language, but where one minority language predominates; where that language is a prestigious language; and where there are good intergroup relations between the minority language speakers and the rest of the community.

In Britain today the prevailing Dominant group ideology in bilingual education is the individualist pluralist one. Some in the dominant group may hold a communitarian integrationist view but, if the recent SWANN (1985) Report is anything to go by, they would rather see bilingual education alongside the mainstream, not inside it, except in the form of second language teaching, not as a medium of instruction. Many ethnic minorities, or at least those who claim to speak on their behalf, from within and from without, share the communitarian view of pluralism: they want a multicultural curriculum and mother tongue teaching for their children both in mainstream and parallel institutions. Now the main issue in interethnic group relations in Britain today is racism. Racism, it is claimed by some not without justification, is the cause of educational inequality. This has led to tensions and conflicts within the minority groups themselves: radical activists reject pluralism as a disguise for assimilation and fight for separatism, counter-culture. Others see the multicultural school as failing the black child by not equipping her with the skills necessary in a white man dominated society.

It is in this context, and with the models of bilingual development and education outlined in the preceding paragraphs in mind, that I now turn to the presentation of a Utopian Community Bilingual Education Project.

2. A project of community bilingual education[2]

Simply stated, the aim of this project is to set up an experimental bilingual program where both majority and minority children learn through the mediums of the majority language and one important minority language and to study the effects of this bilingual learning and teaching experience on the linguistic, cognitive, affective, social, cultural and educational development of majority and minority children and on the community as a whole. The setting will be a small number of pilot primary (infant and junior) schools in one local community where the minority language is spoken by the second largest group. In the experimental classes half the teaching will be done through the medium of English, half through the medium of a minority language. All children in those classes, whether they belong to the majority or the minority, will take part in the experiment.

Before the school-based part of the project can begin, a feasibility study is an essential first step. It will include, first, extensive consultations with all members of the local community, parents, community leaders, teachers, education authorities, among others. Second, as part of the research, an ethnographic investigation of the community will be undertaken so as to anticipate the impact of the experimental bilingual program on the community as a whole.

Although this experiment in community bilingual education involves pupils from majority and minority groups, a profile of only the minority group whose language has been chosen as one of the two mediums of instruction will be presented here, namely that of the Greek-Cypriot community in London.

Why choose Greek and not Bengali, Panjabi or Turkish, to name but four of the most frequently reported languages among London schoolchildren (The other languages of England, 1985). There are three main reasons for this choice: (i) the prestige of the Greek language, Classical and Modern; (ii)

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[2]At the time of writing the project was still in its discussion stage.

the "invisible" minority characteristic of the ethnolinguistic group in question; and (iii) the relatively high ethnolinguistic vitality of the Greek-Cyprioy community. The following is a brief profile of that community in terms of demography, status and institutional support.

Although the total population of Greek Cypriots in Britain is small (about 200,000) by comparison with other ethnolinguistic minorities, it is concentrated in a relatively small area of North London, where some 120,000 live. Greek-speaking schoolchildren form 34 per cent of all minority schoolchildren and in some schools up to 50 per cent of the pupil population (SWANN, 1985). Patterns of migration from Cyprus to Britain have varied, but by far the largest influx came in the 1950's and 1960's; it was characterised by the "cash nexus" and the "myth of return". But, since the events of 1974/75 in Cyprus, marked by Turkey's invasion, the vast majority of Cypriots, both Greek and Turkish, see their long-term future in Britain. And the younger generations are developing different value systems from those of their parents and, chiefly through greater social mobility and exogamy, are establishing new patterns of relationships with English as well as other ethnic groups.

Economically, there is still a division between the sexes, men being traditionally shopkeepers, service or construction workers; women in the clothing industry, in catering and retail, usually in family businesses. Among the older generation there is a strong family tradition of hard work and saving to go back home one day. There is a small but growing professional class, a new generation of young men with a university education and young women in clerical jobs.

In terms of ethnicity the older generation has kept strong bonds with the Island and its traditional values. The "core" values of this older generation are kinship and patronage, which have helped to maintain the continuity of contact with Cyprus and the development of a cohesive, well organised Greek-Cypriot community. Other core values are language and culture. Finally comes religion, that of the Greek Orthodox Church which has an influence on community schools. The younger generations of Anglo-Cypriots tend to reject the family values; they believe in individual achievement, greater freedom - young women reject fixed marriages - and establish different social networks which include English and other ethnic groups.

Greek-Cypriots speak a dialect of Greek. The older generation speaks a variety of Greek which is already archaic compared to the evolving dialect of the Island and it sounds strange even to the people of Cyprus. The younger generations speak a London Cypriot dialect characterised by the presence of English loan-words, code-mixing and code-switching. The language of literacy is basically Standard Greek (Dhimotiki) and this creates difficulties for the dialect-speaking child. There exists a small but significant literary production in Cypriot Greek written by London Greek-Cypriots.

The repertoires and linguistic abilities of the Greek-Cypriot children in London vary along a continuum ranging from litearcy in Greek (52 per cent of schoolchildren can read Greek) to no knowledge of Greek, from Greek monolingualism to Greek-English bilingualism to English monolingualism. Attitudes and motivations apart this rather complex language situation will have to be taken into account. An important question is the position of educationalists in Cyprus vis-a-vis the acquisition of literacy skills: do they ignore the fact that pupils come to school with a dialect grammar, as seems likely? Are there studies of the problems associated with the home-school switch? Has the change from a diglossic situation (Katharevousa v Dhimotiki) to a new relationship (Dhimotiki-dialects) helped the Cypriot child or not? At one level learning to read and write in the Greek script (with its simplified accentuation system) might be less difficult for the English learner, because of the one to one phoneme-grapheme relationship which is much simpler than in English, than for the Cypriot, who speaks a dialect different from the standard.

These problems notwithstanding, Greek enjoys high prestige because of its association with Classical Greek language and culture and their influence on Western civilisation. English has a substantial Greek-based vocabulary, particularly in learned and scientific words. Greek is also a language of wider communication used in both spoken and written form in the USA, Canada and Australia; it is one of the official languages of the European Communities.

Institutionally, the London Greek-Cypriot community is well organised through Church, media and educational institutions. The first Greek language classes were set up before the Second World War under the auspices of the Greek Orthodox Church. In 1952 the Greek Parents Association was formed and later affiliated to the Union of Greek-Cypriot Educational Associations of Britain (OESEKA); they established the first Greek-Cypriot Community School in London. Mother tongue classes are organised with the help of teachers from Cyprus. The Schools Council Mother Tongue Project funded by the EEC, the Schools Council and the Inner London Education Authority, aims at producing teaching materials with special reference to literacy in Greek but in a wider, multicultural context (eg Bengali, English). It also makes use of existing English and Greek reading materials. Last, but not least, bilingual Greek-English teachers are being trained at the Middlesex Polytechnic. Without these recent developments our research project would not be able to take off for lack of suitable teaching materials, qualified teachers, and the support of the Greek-Cypriot community.

The mother tongue classes are important because they not only teach children to read and write in Greek, they also play a role in maintaining their ethnic identity and sharing a common experience. If bilingual education programs were introduced into mainstream schools, community mother tongue classes would still have a role to play.

From the above it will be apparent that the Greek-Cypriot community enjoys a relatively high ethnolinguistic vitality. Educationally, its children have an advantage compared to many working class English children, namely the value given to academic achievement by parents. However, there are problems. The chief one is the assimilation of Greek-Cypriot children into the dominant culture and the identification of these children with low self-concepts and aspirations by their teachers. Above all, the children' language and cultural background are devalued and even suppressed. Thus, the Greek-Cypriot child too experiences discrimination and racism as he is stereotyped as "different" or "stupid". The ILEA LITERACY SURVEY (1980) gives ground for concern about the performance in English of Cypriot children who underachieve: their mean reading scores at 8, 10, and 15 are ten per cent below United Kingdom norms. The SWANN (1985) Report gives the following reasons for the underachievement of these children:

- Lack of preschool provision which often means that the child's first contact with spoken English is at school;
- Inadequate provision for English as a second language;
- Inappropriate curricula;
- Lack of parental support;
- Teachers' lack of knowledge and understanding and need for more English-Greek speaking teachers;
- Low teacher expectation of pupils;
- Language prejudice;
- Effect of home-school switch and inter-generational conflicts;
- Influence of discrimination and racism, direct and indirect, within school and in the wider society.

This rapid and superficial profile of the Greek-Cypriot community in London is both static and one-sided. It fails to take into account the dynamic relations within the group between generational, social and sexual groups, and outside between in-group and out-group members. I have had to rely on two or three research studies and many not very reliable reports. What is urgently needed is a program of ongoing research which will:

(i) monitor the children' progress in the experimental and control groups, including their attitudes, motivations, integration, etc;
(ii) monitor the impact of the bilingual education program on teachers, parents, in and out of the micro-society created by the program.

It is hypothesised that by the end of the bilingual education experience children from all ethnic groups involved in the program will not have suffered academically compared to the control group,

but will have developed an English-Greek bilinguality dominant in English for the English group, a dominant or balanced Greek-English bilinguality for the Greek group, and a dominant English-Greek-other trilinguality for other ethnic groups. It is further hypothesised that the experimental children will have more positive attitudes to their in- and out-groups; and that this positive attitude will also transfer to their peers and families. Finally, the experimental children will have a greater awareness of language and a greater motivation for learning other languages in the secondary school.

To conclude, we have no illusion about the difficulty of the undertaking and the chance of success of this project. A bilingual education program cannot of itself eradicate economic, social and cultural inequalities. However, it is hoped that it will have positive effects on the attitudes of the various micro-community members, in terms of inter-ethnic relations. This piece of utopian social engineering intends to go further than the St-Lambert experiment (LAMBERT & TUCKER, 1972) in two significant ways: First, it tries to turn a relatively subtractive context into additive outcomes. Secondly, it aims to extend beyond the school and the homes of the children concerned to the whole community. Not only is it hoped to foster positive attitudes among the children and their parents but to provide these children with a unique opportunity to use their two languages not only in school but outside. For the English children this means learning a language spoken around them, a language that has prestige beyond the community, thus relating in a real and significant way to children of very different ethnic backgrounds.

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